

Charles E. Schumer, Ben Ray Lujan, Richard J. Durbin, Christopher A. Coons, Elizabeth Warren, John Hickenlooper, Jacky Rosen, Brian Schatz, Tammy Baldwin, Patrick J. Leahy, Kirsten E. Gillibrand, Richard Blumenthal, Benjamin L. Cardin, Catherine Cortez Masto, Cory A. Booker, Raphael G. Warnock, Alex Padilla.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I move to proceed to legislative session. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

##### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 364.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Patricia Tolliver Giles, of Virginia, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia.

##### CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

##### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 364, Patricia Tolliver Giles, of Virginia, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia.

Charles E. Schumer, Mazie Hirono, Tammy Duckworth, Martin Heinrich, Christopher A. Coons, Jack Reed, Benjamin L. Cardin, Angus S. King, Jr., Alex Padilla, Jeff Merkley, Christopher Murphy, Sheldon Whitehouse, Tina Smith, Jeanne Shaheen, Richard J. Durbin, Richard Blumenthal, Robert P. Casey, Jr.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I move to proceed to legislative session. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

##### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 365.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Michael S. Nachmanoff, of Virginia, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia.

##### CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

##### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 365, Michael S. Nachmanoff, of Virginia, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia.

Charles E. Schumer, Ben Ray Lujan, Richard J. Durbin, Christopher A. Coons, Elizabeth Warren, John Hickenlooper, Jacky Rosen, Brian Schatz, Tammy Baldwin, Patrick J. Leahy, Kirsten E. Gillibrand, Richard Blumenthal, Benjamin L. Cardin, Catherine Cortez Masto, Cory A. Booker, Raphael G. Warnock, Alex Padilla.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

##### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 366.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Sarala Vidya Nagala, of Connecticut, to be United States District Judge for the District of Connecticut.

##### CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

##### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 366, Sarala

Vidya Nagala, of Connecticut, to be United States District Judge for the District of Connecticut.

Charles E. Schumer, Ben Ray Lujan, Richard J. Durbin, Christopher A. Coons, Elizabeth Warren, John Hickenlooper, Jacky Rosen, Brian Schatz, Tammy Baldwin, Patrick J. Leahy, Kirsten E. Gillibrand, Richard Blumenthal, Benjamin L. Cardin, Catherine Cortez Masto, Cory A. Booker, Raphael G. Warnock, Alex Padilla.

Mr. SCHUMER. Finally, I ask unanimous consent that the mandatory quorum calls for the cloture motions filed today, October 21, be waived and that the cloture motions ripen at 11 a.m. on Tuesday, October 26.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SCHUMER. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

##### PANDORA PAPERS

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I rise today to sound the alarm on the national security threat that corruption represents and to echo the determination President Biden made earlier this year that corruption constitutes a core national security threat to the United States.

Along with many of my colleagues in this body, I have worked long and hard to fight corruption, which undermines democracy, human rights, and the rule of law and is behind so many of the persistent problems that we seek to solve.

The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists—involving 150 media outlets, including the Washington Post and the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project—conducted an investigation of corruption leading to the publication of the Pandora Papers.

The Pandora Papers reveal the astonishing extent to which questionable financial flows are entering our country and that of our allies. Those warrant further review. Although we had known that such a system of offshore financing exists, it is still shocking to see the scale of the corruption, documented in great detail by emails, contracts, and other documents.

Foreign dictators, their associates, and other foreign officials have stolen untold sums—billions of dollars—and moved that dirty money into our democracies, into our real estate, bank accounts, trusts, and other financial instruments. This is a profound threat to our national security. It hollows out the rule of law abroad and now threatens to hollow out the rule of law at home.

Foreign kleptocrats cannot do this alone. Although the kleptocrats may steal abroad, to taint our political system with that money requires the assistance of enablers—American lawyers, accountants, trust and company service providers, real estate professionals, and the like—who put aside any moral qualms that they may have

about working for the enemies of democracy to obtain a small slice of ill-gotten gains.

The Pandora Papers make clear that U.S. enablers apparently play an outsized role in helping to move stolen assets from dictatorships and struggling democracies into consolidated democracies—an appalling and corrupt transfer of wealth from those who need it the most to those who have no need for it at all.

All told, the Papers include documents from 206 U.S. trusts in 15 States and Washington, DC, and 22 trustee companies.

While there is obviously much legitimate business to be done in creating and managing trusts and investments—and we should be careful about overstating or generalizing without careful examination of each case—it appears that some Americans have knowingly played a significant role in facilitating corruption.

The Papers include 300 political leaders and public officials from more than 90 countries and territories—although no Americans and exceedingly few Western Europeans. This comes as no surprise. The movement of corrupt money runs east to west, not west to east. It is the tragedy of the post-Cold War world that corruption has come west along with dirty money rather than democracy going east.

There are names in the Papers that also come as no surprise, such as Vladimir Putin's cronies Konstantin Ernst and Gennady Timchenko. Both are included on Alexei Navalny's list of 35 human rights abusers and kleptocrats. Timchenko is already under U.S. sanctions, although Ernst is not. Now would be a good time to consider imposing sanctions on him. The Aliyevs of Azerbaijan also make an appearance. They collectively own a real estate empire in London worth \$700 million. A Chinese Communist Party official also was found to have used an offshore company to trade in U.S. stocks.

Now, here is the good news. It doesn't have to be this way. The triumph of global kleptocracy is not inevitable. We can fight back, and we are.

Never before has there been an American administration so focused on countering such corruption or a Congress so creative and aggressive in facing down the threat. President Biden is the first President ever to declare countering corruption to be a core U.S. national security interest.

Congress has formed a bipartisan Caucus against Foreign Corruption and Kleptocracy. The House recently passed no fewer than six different counterkleptocracy measures in the National Defense Authorization Act, which included bills I authored in the Senate. Now, it is incumbent upon us to do the same in the Senate and pass these bills.

First is the Combating Global Corruption Act, S. 14, which would create a public and tiered country-by-country reporting requirement on compliance

with international anti-corruption norms and standards. Those countries in the lowest tier of this report would have their leadership evaluated for Global Magnitsky sanctions. Then there is the Global Magnitsky Reauthorization Act, S. 93, which would reauthorize and enhance these critical sanctions for targeting global kleptocrats and human rights abusers—exactly the sort of people identified by the Pandora Papers.

Just before the recess, I introduced S. 2986, a new measure with Senator WICKER, that would require the administration to evaluate the Navalny 35 for Global Magnitsky Sanctions. Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny's Anti-Corruption Foundation, in a letter addressed to President Joe Biden earlier this year, called for the United States to impose sanctions on dozens of Russian oligarchs and government officials, whom it credibly accuses of political persecution, human rights abuses, and corruption. I agree with the Navalny team and urge the administration to move forward on this request.

All three of these measures have been included in the House version of the NDAA—the National Defense Authorization Act—and I urge my colleagues to include them in the Senate version as well.

The Pandora Papers are a wake-up call to all who care about the future of democracy. Thirty years after the end of the Cold War, it is time for democracies to band together and demand an end to these unprecedented corruptions that has come to the defining feature of the global order. We must purge the dirty money from our system and deny kleptocrats safe haven. It will take hard decisions and difficult reforms, but we can get this done. We already have a bipartisan commitment momentum in order to accomplish these results. Now it is time that we see this through in the U.S. Senate.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized.

#### WELFARE

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, a little over 25 years ago, a Democrat President and a Republican Congress came together, to quote former President Clinton, “end welfare as we know it.”

On a bipartisan basis, Congress passed, and President Clinton signed into law, a bill called the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act. Amongst other things, this landmark law established the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families—what we go by here in Washington, called the TANF Program. That program was replacing the previous family assistance program.

TANF was specifically designed to promote work and to help struggling parents back onto their own two feet. It was very successful—about 40 percent less people on welfare than before 1996.

The new program did this by creating work requirements and promoting skill development through education and job training. While critics at the time contended dire consequences would result—particularly for single mothers—in the end, all these critics were proven fantastically wrong. Welfare reform immediately led to a precipitous decline in welfare caseloads and usage. At the same time, the single mother labor force participation rate rose, and their incomes climbed—a step toward getting out of poverty.

A recent research shows the gains were not only short term but led to an improvement in the material well-being of single mothers throughout the following decades. Additional studies show welfare reform has contributed to higher education attainment and improved food security for the following generation.

The 1996 welfare reforms helped families to enjoy the dignity of self-sufficiency. It helped end the cycle of poverty. It gave parents the hope of seeing their children grow up to be better off than they had been—exactly what every parent dreams of for their family, particularly for their children.

This was achieved thanks to a Democrat President and a Republican Congress working together for the benefit of those that were elected to serve.

Now, President Biden and Senate Democrats want to effectively end welfare reform as we know it and reconstitute failed policies of the past—in other words, end helping people in poverty by helping them get out of poverty—guaranteeing a life in poverty, rejecting a successful reform, signed by Democratic President Clinton.

So you can understand why they don't want to tell the American people that is what they are doing. They know that trying to sell their proposal as the largest expansion of welfare history isn't going to fly with the American people who know how well the 1996 reform has worked up to and including now.

As an end-run around welfare reform—and in an attempt to garner broad public support—they want to co-opt a popular tax program for their own political ends or what they ideologically believe in; that the government ought to assume a more prominent role in people's lives and in the economy.

That program that they are co-opting is the child tax credit. This credit was established on a bipartisan basis in 1997 as a complement to welfare reform, with the idea of assisting parents as they left the welfare rolls to go to productive employment.

Since then, Republicans have taken the lead in improving the credit as an anti-poverty tool that partially offset the burden of payroll taxes on the working poor. And remember, payroll taxes on the working poor is a regressive tax.

In 2001, as then-chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, I worked with